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ABSTRACT

An integrated historical account of the Puerto Rican experience in higher education is presented by the Higher Education Task Force of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriquenos of Hunter College, City University of New York. The present situation of Puerto Ricans in higher education on the Island and in the United States reflects the plight Puerto Ricans experience at both ends of the migratory circuit. The Island has seen a major expansion of postsecondary institutions and student enrollment, but the system is still in crisis. Advances resulting from student struggles of the 1960s and 1970s are short-lived, and the situation is worsening for Puerto Ricans in the U.S. The present expansion of college opportunities for Puerto Ricans on the Island and their contraction in the U.S. are expressions of the crisis of American capitalism and its impact on a politically and economically subordinated population. An interpretive framework that incorporates the imperialist dimension of the U.S.-Puerto Rican colonial relation is developed. Topics of discussion are: higher education under Spanish rule: 1493-1898; higher education and the Americanization program: 1898-1923; the Pan-Americanization of the university as official doctrine: 1923-1930; the great depression and the University of Puerto Rico in the 1930s; higher education and the new colonial arrangement: 1940-1974; Puerto Ricans in the United States: the struggle for access; the crisis of U.S. capitalism and its effects on the Puerto Rican population; the backlash against the Puerto Rican presence in American higher education: 1975-present; the bankruptcy of "operation bootstrap" and the permanent crisis of Puerto Rican higher education: 1974-present; prospects for change; and an agenda for research. Contains 71 references. (SM)

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Education and Imperialism:
The Puerto Rican Experience in Higher Education
1898 – 1986

by
Carlos Rodríguez-Fraticelli
Higher Education Task Force

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EDUCATION AND IMPERIALISM:

THE PUERTO RICAN EXPERIENCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

1898-1986

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INTRODUCTION

The present situation of Puerto Ricans in higher education on the Island as well as in the United States reflects the collective plight Puerto Ricans are experiencing at both ends of the migratory circuit. On the continent, the advances resulting from the student struggles of the 1960s and the early 1970s have proved to be short-lived. Indicators such as student enrollment figures, retention rates and affirmative action data tend to support the contention that the situation is indeed worsening for Puerto Ricans in the United States. The Island, by contrast, has experienced an extraordinary expansion of post-secondary institutions and student enrollment during the same period. This phenomenal growth, however, cannot hide the harsh reality of a system in crisis. As other insular institutions, the higher education system is still operative, and in the case of the private sector thriving financially, by virtue of a steady infusion of massive federal transfers into the Puerto Rican economy.

Although seemingly unconnected phenomena, the present expansion of college opportunities for Puerto Ricans on the Island and their contraction in the United States are different expressions of the crisis of American capitalism and its impact on a politically and economically subordinated population. Still no attempt has yet been made to explore the structural linkages that have shaped these educational histories. The failure to consider the interconnection between these developments has resulted in a fragmented and, therefore, incomplete view of the Puerto Rican educational experience under American rule and of the Puerto Rican colonial reality in general.

Any attempt to recreate the full complexity of this historical evolution, however, should not be restricted to exploring institutional transformations and the internal political, social and economic conditions in which they take place. The changing operations of the colonial relation and United States' expansionist initiatives in the international markets, particularly the Latin American region, are equally important questions that must also be addressed. Twentieth century colonialism, one must keep in mind, is a politico-juridical form that in advanced capitalist states has historically assumed numerous institutional faces. The colonial nation's main objective is to promote its own national economic expansion, and ultimately that of its dominant sectors. Decisions in the area of education, as other state public policies, therefore, cannot be separated from the actual or projected economic, political and geopolitical needs of the colonial power.

The present study represents an initial attempt by the Higher Education Task Force of the **Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños** to produce an integrated historical account of the Puerto Rican experience in higher education. In this working paper, we begin to develop an

interpretative framework that incorporates the imperialist dimension of the United States-Puerto Rican colonial relation as part of the analysis. The paper focuses on the correspondence between major transformations in the United States economy, the formulation of higher education policies, and their effects on the Puerto Rican people. It argues that since 1898, following Spain's transfer of the insular administration to the United States, Puerto Rican socioeconomic and political development has been fundamentally shaped by imperialist initiatives directed at furthering American economic interests. Throughout this historical process, Puerto Rican educational aspirations, specifically those of the working class, have been successively subordinated to the needs of colonial developmental programs. At the other end of the migratory circuit, although fully entitled to all the benefits accorded by American citizenship, the Puerto Rican community remains confined to the bottom of the socioeconomic order--a situation grounded and nourished by an institutionalized discriminatory arrangement based on class and racial stratification. As on the Island, education plays an important supportive role preserving the Puerto Ricans' disadvantaged positioning in the United States' political and economic system.

Needless to say, the themes considered here demand more exhaustive research. Some of these issues will be taken up in the Higher Education Task Force's future research agenda. In the meantime, we hope that the arguments developed in this essay will generate further debate over the role higher education has played in shaping the Puerto Rican experience.

HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER SPANISH RULE: 1493-1898

During the Spanish colonial period, the island's educational system developed very slowly. A poor and sparsely populated precapitalist society for most of the period, the colony lacked the economic conditions favorable to the extension of educational opportunities. As in the rest of the Spanish empire and most of the Western world, formal education was mainly in religious hands and mostly restricted to the privileged sectors. Spanish colonial educational policies also accounted for the backward educational situation in the island. Sharing the accepted view among the dominant classes of education as a potentially disruptive element to the established social and political order, colonial officials traditionally looked at popular education with distrust and paid little heed to the colonists' demands for more educational institutions.[1]

The situation in higher education reflected this historical development. The Spanish university was an extremely selective institution, catering to the nobility and the mercantile elite. There, the offspring of the dominant sectors were trained in philosophy, theology, law, and medicine to become the civil and religious bureaucracy needed to administer the empire. Although the highly elitist character of the feudal university fundamentally accounted for this condition, Spanish colonial policies further hindered the Puerto Ricans' opportunities to secure a post-secondary education. In its efforts to keep the colonial elites in check, the Spanish crown tightly controlled the establishment of

universities and restricted these institutions to the major administrative and financial centers of the domain. Since the island hardly fulfilled these requirements, those Puerto Ricans interested in pursuing a higher education and financially able to do so had no alternative but to travel to other realms of the empire, usually Santo Domingo, Mexico, Spain, Venezuela, and, after the late eighteenth century, Cuba.[2]

Following the disintegration of its American empire (1810-1830), Spain tightened its grip over the remaining colonies, Cuba and Puerto Rico. In the educational sphere, the islanders' chances to get a higher education shrank even further as their options to study in the former Spanish colonial universities were sharply restricted. Furthermore, concerned with the spreading of subversive ideas such as democracy, protestantism and republicanism among the colonists, the Crown repeatedly tried to deter Puerto Ricans and Cubans from attending educational institutions in the United States, a practice which had become increasingly popular since the turn of the century.[3]

As the colony prospered, the Puerto Rican intellectual elite pressed their demands for a university. But traditionally fearful of the development of a nationalist consciousness among the colonial subjects, and opposed to channel financial resources to the maintenance of such an institution, the Spanish authorities rejected these appeals. It was not until 1888, during a period of liberal reforms, that the Crown finally approved a proposal for the opening of a private institute of higher education affiliated to the University of Havana. Under this arrangement, Puerto Ricans could follow an officially approved plan of study in this institute, but still had to be examined by professors from the University of Havana. To facilitate the process, the Spanish government assumed financial responsibility for bringing the examining board members to the Island. The program, however, was short-lived. Alleging financial problems, the colonial administration turned the institute into a preparatory school for Puerto Rican students interested in attending the University of Havana.[4]

The Spanish government's resistance to promote the establishment of educational institutions on the Island was instrumental in limiting the Puerto Ricans' educational opportunities. According to the 1899 census, only one fifth of one percent of the insular population possessed a college education; roughly nine percent of the school age population was attending school; illiteracy rates were over eighty percent.[5] Like many other key insular institutions, education experienced a radical transformation under United States' colonial rule.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE AMERICANIZATION PROGRAM: 1898-1923

By the last third of the nineteenth century, Cuba and Puerto Rico had become important elements in American schemes for expanding international markets for United States' industrial goods and capital. Given the islands' strategic location in the trade routes and their intrinsic economic value, American expansionist strategists had been

impressing on Washington the need for a more aggressive policy towards Spain. The ultimate objective was to establish the United States' political and economic hegemony over the islands. With the resumption of the Cuban war for independence (1895), the Cuban question came to the forefront of American public opinion. In 1898, convinced that Spain was no longer capable of safeguarding American interests on the Island, and under heavy pressure from the interventionist sector, the McKinley administration declared war on Spain to impose its own solution. As a result of the conflict, the United States established a protectorate in Cuba (1898-1902) and assumed colonial control of Puerto Rico.[6]

Under American rule, the island's educational system experienced extraordinary expansion. Unlike their Spanish counterparts who traditionally showed little interest and even aversion towards the education of the colonial subjects, American policy-makers regarded schooling as a key instrument for cementing and perpetuating control over the new possessions.[7] Through the school, the new colonial administration sought to mold the political culture of the most malleable sector of the Puerto Rican population--the children--so that the island "would become in its sympathies, views and attitudes toward life and toward government essentially American."[8] Such an ambitious project entailed a radical reorganization of the inherited Spanish colonial educational system. Regarding the Spanish language as a main obstacle in the re-creation of Puerto Rican culture, American policy makers imposed English as the official school language; United States' national symbols--the flag, the national anthem, American heroes and holidays, and patriotic exercises--all became an integral part of Puerto Rican school life. American textbooks reflecting the dominant world view in the new metropolitan center became the primary medium of instruction.[9]

To oversee the Americanization of the school system, the new colonial administration introduced the post of Commissioner of Education on the Island. Like the other cabinet members, this official was directly named by the president of the United States. To facilitate the approval of necessary legislation and the rapid implementation of governmental policies, the Commissioner of Education along with ten other presidential appointees--including the other five Secretaries--made up the Upper House of the colonial legislature. The importance attributed to schooling as a means of colonial control was such that the Commissioner, besides the governor and the Attorney General, remained the only officials directly appointed by the president, following the imposition of the Jones Act in 1917. This practice lasted until 1948, when new political reforms allowed for the election of a native governor, with the right to appoint all members of his cabinet, including the Commissioner of Education.[10]

In the process of re-making Puerto Rican culture, colonial officials assigned a pivotal role to higher education. For the first two decades of American rule, almost all the important measures undertaken in this area were subordinated to the staffing needs of the public school system as well as to the ideological and political formation of the dominant native sectors and public officials needed to govern the new possession.

The colonial administration's main priority during this period was the formation of an Americanized teaching corps, a crucial requisite for the success of the colonization program. As a first step in that direction, in 1899, it hired American teachers residing in the Island to serve as school inspectors and itinerant teachers to train native teachers and students alike and began the practice of exporting teachers from the United States to staff the insular schools. To accelerate this process, in 1899, American officials sent forty-eight Puerto Rican teachers to study English and American teaching methods in several normal schools in the new metropolis.

In the meantime, the government closed the existing normal schools in 1898. Equipped with a Spanish-oriented teaching corps and course of study, these institutions had no place in the new colonial order. That same year the colonial administration opened a model training school staffed exclusively by American professors and inaugurated an annual program of summer teachers' institutes in different parts of the island. The following year, it approved the establishment of a normal school in the city of Fajardo, and, in 1903, oversaw the opening of the Normal Department in the newly established University of Puerto Rico.[11]

One of the colonial administration's most ambitious projects to Americanize the Puerto Rican teachers was the highly publicized 1904 summer schools at Harvard and Cornell. That summer, 540 Puerto Rican teachers not only participated in a formal educational program, but were taken to New York City, Philadelphia, Boston and Washington, D.C., where they were entertained by American educational leaders, businessmen, and politicians. In Washington, White House officials, including President Theodore Roosevelt, hosted a reception for the Puerto Rican teachers. The ultimate goal of the enterprise was to impress on the visitors the greatness of the American republic and the superiority of the American way of life and institutions. Once back on the island, these teachers would transmit their impressions of American democracy "to thousands of children in this newest section of the United States [Puerto Rico]." That alone, reported Commissioner of Education Samuel McCune Lindsay, the main ideologue of the colonial educational system, "was worth all of the effort and expense involved in the undertaking of this trip."[12]

The subordination of higher education to the Americanization program was similarly reflected in the legislation that led to the creation of the University of Puerto Rico. The American-sponsored law called for the gradual establishment, whenever funds were available, of several departments. The first on the list was the Normal School, followed by Agriculture and Mechanical Arts. Next in line was the Department of Natural Sciences and Engineering. Since they did not coincide with the immediate needs of the new rulers, those departments corresponding to the Puerto Rican **hacendado** elite's most favored professions--law, medicine, and pharmacy--were relegated in this organizational program.

To maintain American control over the institution, the law provided for the creation of a Board of Trustees composed of the colonial governor as its honorary president, and the Commissioner of Education,

the Attorney General, the Treasurer, and the Secretary of Government as ex-officio members. The remaining board members were the Speaker of the House and five other individuals to be chosen by the governor for a four-year term. Under this arrangement, the Commissioner of Education served not only as board president, but as ex-officio chancellor.[13] By giving control over the internal administration of the University to this official, the colonial government sought to assure that the needs of the public school system and of the Americanization program would be the dominant consideration in university life.

In 1903, the same year the colonial authorities approved the bill, the Board of Trustees officially inaugurated the Normal Department. Like all other departments that followed, the Normal School was staffed mainly with American teachers and equipped with American textbooks. It also included an adjunct model school that served as a training center for Normal School students as well as a preparatory school for young Puerto Ricans interested in pursuing a teaching career. To attract students, the government offered not only the possibility of a secure and a relatively well paid job but also free tuition and a scholarship program for both outstanding and needy students.[14] For the next two decades, the University's main task continued to be the formation of teachers for the Americanization of Puerto Rico's younger generation.[15]

As decreed by the university law, the Department of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts was established next. Its primary mission was training technicians needed for the expansion of the agricultural capitalist sector. Regarding the modernization of agricultural production as the foundation of the island's future prosperity, American colonial officials placed great importance on this kind of instruction since the early days of the occupation.[16] Although opened in 1904, the new Department languished because of lack of financial resources and a generalized apathy among the few educated young Puerto Ricans towards manual training. Along with growing American capital investment in the sugar sector, demands for federal support for the Department increased. Finally in 1908, the federal government authorized the extension of the Morrill-Hatch Act to Puerto Rico, which made the University a land-grant institution.[17] The law also required the inclusion of military training in the university curriculum. To comply with this requirement, in 1909, the Board of Trustees made military work compulsory for the first two years of study at the University.[18]

Federal financial assistance, and the increasing demand for agricultural specialists, resulted in the Department's steady growth. In 1912, it was moved to Mayaguez and renamed **Colegio de Agricultura y Artes Mecánicas** (CAAM); in the following years new courses and physical facilities were added. By 1920, a pleased colonial governor reported that the department was successfully meeting colonial needs, supplying "manual training teachers for the public schools, the assistant chemists in the sugar factories, and the inspectors of agriculture and labor."[19] Meantime, a 1911 legislation had granted municipalities the right to establish scholarships for students interested in pursuing a career in agriculture, agronomy and forestry in U.S. colleges and universities.[20]

As in Spanish times, those Puerto Ricans interested in studying the traditional professions or in obtaining a liberal arts education had to leave the island, mainly for the United States. The decision to postpone the establishment of traditional liberal arts and professional schools clearly did not respond only to financial considerations, but also to the policy-makers' beliefs that one of the most effective means of remaking the political culture of the future Puerto Rican leadership--especially at that critical juncture of the colonization process--was by transplanting them to the United States. In the new metropolis, these students would directly experience the influence of American institutions and culture.[21] For this purpose, the colonial government and the War Department actively cooperated between 1899 and 1901 with the Cuban [Puerto Rican] Educational Association of the United States (CEA), an expansionist organization composed of American capitalists, politicians, educational and government officials, in the placement of several hundreds of Puerto Ricans in United States' colleges and universities. In exchange for free tuition, these students promised to abide by the CEA's regulations, which required them to undergo a carefully designed immersion program in the American way of life and to return to the island after completion of their studies.[22]

The CEA's decision, in 1901, to cease operations did not disrupt the colonial government strategy of sending Puerto Ricans to get an American college education. That same year, the colonial legislature approved a scholarship program for Puerto Ricans to study in the United States.[23] Like those sponsored by the CEA, these students were to undergo an intense acculturation process.[24] Reflecting the colonial administration's interest in creating favorable conditions for capital investment on the Island, twenty of the forty-five fellowships were assigned to students of agriculture and mechanical arts. The program was expanded in 1908 to include 14 new scholarships for Puerto Rican women who agreed to teach in the insular public schools for a period of four years after graduating from college.[25]

Meanwhile, colonial officials continued encouraging Puerto Ricans to study in the United States. In 1905, the government was able to identify 492 Puerto Ricans enrolled in American educational institutions.[26] By 1922, 427 Puerto Ricans were officially reported studying in the United States. Most of them, the colonial governor noted would return to Puerto Rico and would "to a certain extent, aid in the further Americanization of the island by introducing many of the customs from the State."[27] From the American colonial officials' perspective, the practice proved to be a success, since it was instrumental in providing a United States-educated native pool for staffing the colonial bureaucracy. Thus, by 1925, the governor could boast that "most of the heads of departments and bureau chiefs, as well as the scientific experts and research workers now in the government service were graduates of American colleges and universities."[28]

The colonial administration's resistance to the immediate establishment of a traditional four-year liberal arts university came under

strong criticism from Puerto Rican educational reformers who regarded this policy as contrary to the best interests of the island. Still it was not until 1910 that the government approved the opening of the College of Liberal Arts. Even so, the college was originally devised as a transitional program to alleviate the cost of a university education in the United States. It offered a two-year program after which Puerto Ricans had to travel to the States to finish their degrees. Moreover, the College's other main function was to prepare graduates from the Normal Department as school administrators and high school teachers. Finally in 1913, under increasing public pressure, the American-controlled Board of Trustees transformed it into a four-year program.[29]

Throughout the first decade of the occupation, American officials constantly rejected Puerto Rican demands for the establishment of a Law School. However, the increasing complexity and size of legal transactions spurred by the expansion of the agricultural industry and commerce forced the government to recognize the need for trained native lawyers. In 1913, the University finally inaugurated the Law School and oversaw the opening of the School of Pharmacy.[30]

During the First World War, colonial officials disrupted university life to make the institution subservient to the United States' war effort. As in the public school system, classrooms became centers of propaganda in favor of the Allies' cause. Many professors and students were conscripted in the U.S. Armed Forces following the imposition, in 1917, of American citizenship on Puerto Ricans. Especially affected by this development were the CAAM students. Given their specialized technical training, many were drafted to work in the laboratories of the sugar corporations to develop new and more efficient agricultural products and techniques responsive to the needs of a war economy.[31] As the conflict intensified, in 1918, the War Department stepped up the militarization of the University with the imposition of the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) at the UPR. Although the SATC was demobilized in 1919 as a result of the Armistice, the Board of Trustees introduced that same year the Reserve Office Training Corps (ROTC).[32]

Even though the University of Puerto Rico officially included, by 1920, the colleges of Education, Law, Liberal Arts, Agricultural and Mechanical Arts, and Pharmacy, the institution was still in a primitive state of development. Of an enrollment of 2,380 students, only 371 were in college level programs, while the remaining 2,090 were taking sub-collegiate courses. Furthermore, as critics concurred "neither in faculty, nor in buildings, equipment and curricula did the University come up to the standards of an institution of higher learning."[33] This situation, however, began to change rapidly in 1924, when colonial policy makers launched a university reform that had as its main goal the transformation of the institution into a center for scientific research and an instrument for expanding American interests in Latin America.

THE PAN-AMERICANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY BECOMES OFFICIAL DOCTRINE: 1923-1930

During the first two decades of the century, American capital had been making rapid headway in Latin America, especially in the Caribbean region. After World War I, the United States thrust into the region accelerated.[34] In the colonial policy-makers' expansionist designs, Puerto Rico became increasingly important not only because of its economic potential, but also because of the Island's unique status in the hemisphere --an Americanized former Spanish possession that could serve, given its strategic location and its cultural background, as an instrument of economic expansion in the area.

By the late 1910s, the insular colonial administration had already been urging an overhaul of the University's functions to respond more effectively to the changing demands of American capitalism in Latin America. Between 1918 and 1924, university and government officials had been actively promoting the creation of new programs such as a language center to train Americans and Puerto Ricans for teaching Spanish in United States educational institutions, a program of Latin American commerce for American students, and the establishment of scientific research centers including a Tropical Engineering Experimental Station and a School of Tropical Medicine. Such an ambitious reform required a more effective university administration and a generous fixed income that would guarantee a secure financial basis for the proposed expansion.[35]

In 1923, the President of the United States appointed Horace M. Towner Governor of Puerto Rico to quell the growing political turmoil caused by his predecessor's unpopular measures, specifically his policy of forced Americanization. The new governor was to create favorable conditions to launch the new offensive in the rest of Latin America. While courting the main parties, offering support for a greater degree of colonial self-government and more liberal colonial policies, Towner paid special attention to the University.[36]

Between 1923 and 1924, the insular legislature approved an university reform project. At the administrative level, the new amendments reorganized the Board of Trustees, giving elected native office holders--the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate--greater participation in the decision-making process. Control over the institution, however, remained in the hands of American appointed officials. In a more transcendental step, the Office of the Chancellor was separated from the Commissioner of Education and established as an independent administrative unit responsible for the internal functioning of the University, including the appointment of all personnel subject to the Board's approval. The legislature also agreed to a tax formula that provided a $600,000 fixed income for the institution. That same year, the Board opened three more departments in the CAAM--Agricultural Economy, Forestry, and Veterinary Science.[37] Plans for the creation of the School of Tropical Medicine also received official approval. Yet the new school was not a traditional teaching program, but actually a research experimental station for American medical graduates

specializing in tropical diseases, a major concern of American capitalists with investments in the tropics, especially in the Caribbean. The project was sponsored by Columbia University, and the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, which provided the school's first two directors. Furthermore, Columbia retained the authority to establish educational policy, recommend the faculty, and appoint two of the special school board members.[38] As in the past, Puerto Rican medical students had to continue attending foreign institutions.

To implement the university reorganization program, Towner worked closely with the principal Puerto Rican political leaders. However, rejecting as narrow nationalism demands for the appointment of a Puerto Rican to the chancellorship of the University, the American governor imposed his candidate, Thomas E. Benner, to the position.[39] Under Benner's aggressive management (1924-1929), the pan-Americanization of the University of Puerto Rico became official doctrine.[40] The new chancellor oversaw the inauguration of the Department of Hispanic Studies and the creation of a baccalaureate in Inter-American relations; invited Spanish and Latin American intellectuals, including the Mexican José Vasconcelos, to speak of the virtues of pan-Americanism,[41] strengthened the summer Spanish program for American teachers, and encouraged Puerto Rican students to participate in inter-university debates with American students on issues relating to United States-Latin American relations.[42] Responding to a great extent to American corporations' needs for bilingual administrators in Latin America, Benner opened the School of Commerce (1926) and tried, unsuccessfully, to organize an Institute of Inter-American Relations with the support of influential advocates of U.S. expansionism.[43]

This policy of using the University of Puerto Rico as a tool for advancing American geopolitical and economic objectives in Latin America gained new impetus during the Great Depression years. To stimulate the sagging United States economy, American policy-makers developed new regional strategies. At the political level, the Roosevelt Administration (1932-1945) shaped the pan-Americanist measures of the previous administration into a coherent doctrine--the so-called Good Neighbor Policy--with the purpose of arresting economic nationalist tendencies, growing anti-Americanism, and the German thrust into the Latin American region. Washington's diplomatic overtures of good will were accompanied by a series of reciprocal trade agreements, the orientation of the recently created Export-Import Bank towards Latin America, and the creation of the Inter-American Development Commission. In the cultural sphere, Washington's offensive included the negotiation, in 1936, of the United States' first international exchange program of university students and professors with several Latin American nations. Two years later, the War Department opened its Division of Cultural Affairs to deal exclusively with Latin America. In 1940, the federal government established the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Affairs between the American Republics.[44]

In Puerto Rico, the colonial government continued promoting the pan-Americanization of the University. In 1930, the legislature reorganized the Board of Trustees adding a new ex-officio member to be appointed upon the recommendation of the American controlled Pan-American Union.[45] In the ensuing years, the Board of Trustees planned the opening of a School of Tropical Agriculture and launched an aggressive program to attract Latin American students and professors to the institution. The pan-Americanization drive achieved its climactic point in 1938 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt named a special commission to study the feasibility of establishing a federally funded Inter-American university in the island.[46]

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO: THE 1930s

In Puerto Rico, by then a sugar colony controlled by absentee American capitalists, the effects of the economic depression were devastating. The sharp decrease in exports, especially sugar, affected all spheres of Puerto Rican life, causing widespread unemployment and the further pauperization of the popular classes. As the crisis continued unabated, dissatisfaction with the existing political arrangement spread rapidly across class lines. The popularity of new political forces, the militant anti-imperialist **Partido Nacionalista** and the anti-colonialist **Acción Social Independentista** (later to become the **Partido Popular Democrático**) with their programs for social and economic reform, presented the first serious threat to United States' colonial control since the occupation.[47]

In response to this explosive situation, American policy-makers extended several federal job and welfare programs instituted by the New Deal administration in the United States, and emphasized the need to diversify agricultural production. Once again the colonial policy makers called on the University of Puerto Rico to assist in the implementation of these projects on the Island and in the rest of the Latin American region. During the next decade, the study of alternative tropical crops and other agricultural industries became one of the institution's main tasks. To direct this program, the colonial administration appointed Carlos Chardón as Chancellor, in 1930. The first Puerto Rican to occupy the position, Chardón was a former colonial Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, an economic consultant for the federal government on insular affairs, and a renowned specialist in tropical agriculture in United States and Latin American scientific circles.[48]

The University became more involved in the insular reconstruction process in 1935, with the appointment of Chardón as regional head of the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration program (PRRA). To carry out the job, Chardón drafted many university professors and secured federal funds for agricultural research and overhauling university facilities. In 1931, the colonial Commissioner of Agriculture joined the Board of Trustees in the same capacity, as a result of the extension of the Hatch, Adams, Pursell and the Smith-Levers Acts, which provided

financial support to institutions of higher education for agricultural experimental stations and extension work. In 1936, the U.S. Congress also extended to the island the sections of the Bankhead-Jones Act for the development of cooperative agricultural extension work. Besides those monies assigned specifically for agricultural research, the federal government granted sizable funds for the improvement and expansion of the University's physical facilities and scientific equipment, including a new building for the ROTC and the Experimental Radio Station. The institution had acquired such importance for American policy makers that in the midst of the Depression the University budget was the largest since its foundation.[49]

But the material improvement experienced by the University could not shield the institution from the political unrest that was rapidly engulfing all spheres of colonial society. To the American administrators' dismay, the structure carefully built to cement United States' hegemony on the island was evolving into a focal point of militant anti-American ideological and political opposition to the colonial arrangement.

Since its foundation, the University of Puerto Rico fundamentally catered to the local upper classes and middle sectors, many of whom had benefitted from the American occupation. Throughout this initial period, the student body and faculty were generally characterized by an attitude of complacency. Although students' demands for independence had become more open since WWII, opposition to American rule in the university arena was mainly expressed through the defense of Puerto Rican Hispanic culture. But the prolongation of the economic crisis, which increasingly affected the fortunes of the middle and upper sectors, nurtured discontent among an increasing number of college students and faculty. Influenced by the nationalist analysis of the situation and the anti-imperialist movements in the rest of Latin America, a militant radicalized student movement began to openly challenge United States colonial rule, both inside and outside the University.[50]

The University increasingly came under close scrutiny and was denounced as a tool of American economic penetration not only in Puerto Rico but in the rest of the region. Like other reform-minded students, nationalists called for the transformation of the University into an effective instrument of national regeneration. To accomplish this goal, however, the institution had to undergo a radical reform. Among other things, students demanded: student and faculty participation in the decision-making process; better access and financial support to academically qualified but needy students; improvement in the quality of education; use of Spanish as the school language; and university autonomy from political power-brokers, especially American colonial officials.

The political polarization of the university student body was intensified by the triumph of the **Coalición** in the 1932 and 1936 legislative elections. Hoisting staunch opposition to independence and loyalty to the United States as their banner, the coalitionist block embarked on a campaign to take control of the public administration system. The public education system, including the University, was

indicted for its supposed failure to foster Americanism among Puerto Rican youth. In the following years the **Coalición**, with the support of the American colonial governors, disregarded established procedures and intervened in the University and the general educational system to remedy this situation. Students who openly advocated independence were persecuted and, in many instances, expelled. Liberal professors as well as those openly identified with the cause of independence were harassed and, in several cases, fired from their positions. Political activities without official approval were banned. Even those opposing on purely pedagogical grounds the policy of making English the sole language of instruction were branded as anti-American and dismissed.[51]

Meanwhile, the emergency reconstruction measures instituted to deal with the island's economic and political crisis proved to be ineffective. Searching for a more workable approach to the increasingly troublesome Puerto Rican question, American policy-makers began to seriously consider a redefinition of the colonial relationship. To accomplish this delicate task, Washington chose to work with the pragmatic leadership of the **Partido Popular Democrático** (PPD), which had shown its willingness to put aside initial demands for independence in exchange for greater political autonomy and federal support for its reform program.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE NEW COLONIAL ARRANGEMENT: 1940-1974

The American governor, Rexford Tugwell (1940-1946), chief engineer of the new colonial program, regarded the University as a key element in creating favorable conditions for expanding the island's industrial sector. The institution was not only to intensify its scientific research activities, but also to form the human resources needed for expanding and improving the public administration, and to develop a sense of unity among the increasingly polarized Puerto Rican population. To accomplish this goal, it was necessary to provide the UPR with a new orientation, new equipment, new departments, and a new teaching staff, specifically in the science departments. Equally important, the institution had to be freed from the disruptive effects of partisan politics.[52]

As the 1940 election approached, this issue became a rallying point for the political opposition and a thorny question for the American colonial administration. The PPD, under the charismatic leadership of Luis Muñoz Marín, presented to the masses a program of social and economic reform based on the industrialization of the economy and land redistribution. It also transformed the politicization of the University into an electoral issue, and promised to banish politics from the institution as part of a proposed program of honest administration. With its electoral triumph in 1940, the PPD automatically gained representation on the Board of Trustees and immediately secured the appointment of Tugwell, who had not been named governor yet, to the chancellorship. The party also offered unconditional support for Tugwell's reform program and a compromise formula that would allow him to continue in the post after assuming the governorship. But strong opposition within the

academic community to Tugwell's holding the two positions led to his resignation from the chancellorship. This setback, however, did not fundamentally affect the unofficial university reform program.

In 1942, Governor Tugwell approved the bill enacted by the PPD-controlled legislature reorganizing the University. Along with the obvious responsibility of imparting higher learning, the new law mandated the university to emphasize scientific research, to study the fundamental problems of the island, to prepare public servants, and to develop a deep feeling of unity among the Puerto Ricans. Also reflecting the PPD's disposition to serve United States' geopolitical interests in Latin America, specifically the diplomatic offensive against the Axis' growing influence in the region, the Puerto Rican legislature anointed the UPR as "servant of democratic culture, inside and outside Puerto Rico."[53]

The new university reform was fundamentally directed at creating the administrative structure needed to make the institution of service to the PPD/Tugwell's developmental program. For that purpose, the law reorganized the Board of Trustees into a new body--the Superior Education Council (SEC)--composed of the Commissioner of Education as its chairman, "two eminent [American] educators identified with the cause of democratic culture" and four resident citizens equally identified with the same cause.[54] Although this measure eliminated direct legislative representation, all of the Council members were to be appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a ten year term. Under the new legislation, the SEC's functions were greatly enhanced. It was not only responsible for imparting a new orientation to the University but to the entire public school system and for coordinating their operations. Control over the implementation of the new reform program, however, resided in the Chancellor. To limit the Council's interference in the internal affairs of the University, the legislation required that this official be appointed for an indefinite term. The law also called for the creation of two University Boards--one at the Río Piedras campus and the other at the CAAM--to serve as advisory bodies to the Chancellor. Student representation in these bodies was also officially guaranteed. In practice, however, the Chancellor held absolute control over the internal functioning of the institution, including the right to appoint all personnel. The law also provided for a considerable increase in the university budget.[55]

With this piece of legislation, the PPD took complete control of the University. Tugwell and the PPD controlled legislature selected a PPD-dominated Council. The SEC, in turn, appointed Jaime Benítez, a university professor, close collaborator of Tugwell and Muñoz Marín, and a leading force in the university reform movement during the 1930s, to the chancellorship.[56] This new administrative arrangement, specifically the elimination of legislative representation in the Council and the extension of its members term, was intended to protect the University's mission from the potentially disruptive effect of political activism.

Once in command, Benítez and the university administration proceeded to further isolate the institution from "politics", specifically from the growing nationalist influence. Disregarding other Puerto Rican leading intellectuals' and educators' demands for the **puertorriqueñización** of the UPR, the Benítez administration promoted concepts such as the universality of the Puerto Rican tradition as the institution's guiding philosophical principles.[57] This policy was reflected in the establishment of the Program of General Studies, which required all students to acquaint themselves with the classics of Western culture. The administration also refused to include courses on Puerto Rican culture and society in this program, even though the study of the island's fundamental problems was one of the purported missions of the University.[58] In sum, the institution's function was to form technocrats at the service of the new developmental program. Student political activism, however, remained a serious challenge to the administration's attempt to "depoliticize" the institution. Demands for greater student participation in the policy making process persisted;[59] nationalist students continued using the University as a political forum and questioned Benítez' policies. Tensions between students and the administration came to a climax in 1948, when a politically motivated strike led by nationalist students disrupted academic functions, challenging attempts to disconnect the institution from the island's political reality. The administration responded harshly, barring all political activity in the University, establishing a tight control over students' clubs, meetings and publications, abolishing the Student Government, and taking away the students' limited rights to representation on the university boards.[60] Benitez' concept of the university as a **Casa de Estudios** (house of study) was to dominate the institution for the next two decades.[61]

During the 1940s, the UPR underwent a radical transformation. In 1941, the Board of Trustees approved Tugwell's bill authorizing the opening of the School of Public Administration, key to the formation of the native technocracy needed to administer the projected governmental programs.[62] Two years later, in 1943, the University instituted a major curricular reform, which comprised the reorganization of the College of Liberal Arts into three new colleges--Natural Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities--and the addition of the Division of General Studies. In 1946, the **Centro de Investigaciones Sociales**, a research center originally conceived as an instrument for supporting government policy and for lending ideological legitimacy to the developmental program, was officially inaugurated. In 1950, the Board finally opened the School of Medicine.[63] The number of courses in these and the other established colleges was greatly expanded.

The pan-American function of the University was strengthened throughout the decade: the Board approved courses in diplomacy, initiated scholarship programs for Latin American students and scientists, intensified the practice of enlisting visiting professors from the United States and Hispanic nations to teach in the institution, and in 1941 established the Institute of Tropical Agriculture. The latter was not only to serve as a research station on Latin American agricultural problems, but also to send technical missions to the region at the request of either

government or private corporations.[64] In 1948, the colonial governor reported to his superiors in Washington, "an overincreasing [sic] demand on the part of Latin American countries for technical advice from Puerto Rico to help them in the development of educational and economic plans."[65] As Osuna noted, by 1954 the University was "in fact, if not officially, an Inter-American Institution of learning, where the North and the South meet, culturally and scientifically."[66]

Meanwhile the university administration considerably increased the financial assistance programs for students and sabbatical leaves for professors interested in furthering their training in institutions of higher education abroad, mostly in the United States. To orient the increasing number of Puerto Rican students enrolling in American colleges and universities, the UPR established in 1945 an office in Washington, D.C.[67]

The nature and scope of the university reform was such that the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (MSACSC), which in 1937 had refused to certify the institution, enthusiastically accredited it nine years later. The UPR, reported the Association's inspector, had "developed amazingly since the inspection in 1937" and had become "a respectable educational institution."[68]

Between 1940 and 1975, student enrollment at the University of Puerto Rico rose steadily. The needs of the growing public service sector and of the industrialization process, and the expansion of the middle sectors brought about by the government's economic strategy, resulted in increasing demands for higher education. Enrollment figures, which in 1939-40 amounted to 4,987 increased to 11,384 by 1949-1950; in the academic year 1969-70 there were 37,338 students; by 1972 the student population had soared to 53,450.[69] Yet in spite of this extraordinary expansion, the University was incapable of absorbing the rapidly growing number of applicants. Pressures from the public and students led the administration to open two-year colleges in different parts of the island: Humacao (1962), Cayey and Arecibo (1967), Ponce (1970), Bayamón (1971), Aguadilla (1972) and Carolina (1974). Still, this approach did not satisfactorily solve the problem as the demands for an affordable college education continued unabated. As a partial solution, the insular legislature approved a bill in 1969 for the creation of an educational fund to financially support students in private institutions of higher education, and secured, in 1973, the extension of the Pell Grant Program to the Island. Furthermore, the university administration attempted to expand students' opportunities by transforming the Cayey (1970) and Humacao (1973) colleges into four-year liberal arts institutions. At the same time, it began to redirect the liberal arts orientation of the remaining regional colleges toward para-professional and technical careers in response to business and industrial demands.[70]

The Benítez administration's attempt to eradicate student political activity from the institution, however, proved to be unsuccessful in the long run. The initial accomplishments of the new developmental program, the improvement of living conditions, the ensuing optimism that spread across all classes, and the harsh repression of the Nationalist movement,

had all combined to help maintain a climate of political demobilization in the university for the next decade.[71] But by the late 1950s and early 1960s, national and international developments created the conditions for the disintegration of the **Casa de Estudios** model so carefully nurtured.

The growing incapacity of the PPD to fulfill its electoral promises led to heightened recognition of the structural limitations of the developmental program. As these limitations become more visible, a struggle for power, which in one instance pitted Benítez against Muñoz, weakened the party.[72] The **Estado Libre Asociado** (Commonwealth of Puerto Rico), the juridical/legal formula devised in 1952 to formalize the new colonial arrangement, came increasingly under the attack of the expanding pro-statehood sector and the militant pro-independence forces, which had regrouped under the **Movimiento Pro Independencia** (MPI) in 1959. The rebirth of militant nationalism in university life was exemplified by the formation of the **Federación de Universitarios Pro Independencia** (FUPI) in 1956. At the international level, the triumph of the Cuban Revolution (1959), the Viet Nam war, and the spread of national liberation struggles in the Third World, the Civil Rights Movement and the student movement in the United States, all demonstrated the weaknesses of the American political and economic system, and served as inspiration to the pro-independence forces and the radical student sector.

In the University, a revitalized reform movement led by **Asociación Puertorriqueña de Profesores Universitarios** (APPU), pressed its demands for greater academic freedom. An increasingly militant student movement retook the issues of the 1930s and 1940s, demanding the democratization of the University: real student participation in the decision-making process; reestablishment of the Student Council and representation on the university boards; and freedom of speech and assembly. Student activism, however, mainly targeted the ROTC, symbol of American imperialism. Disregarding the ban against political acts on campus, students picketed and marched demanding the elimination of the ROTC from the university curriculum. For the first time since 1948, the police entered the Río Piedras campus in 1964 to quell a student demonstration.[73]

In an attempt to contain the growing dissatisfaction within the academic community, the Legislature enacted in 1966 a university reform law. The new legislation decentralized the administrative structure: power to formulate institutional policy was transferred to a reorganized board of trustees, the Council on Higher Education (CHE); a president was entrusted with the coordination and supervision of the university life; chancellors were responsible for their respective campuses; and the Academic Senates (created in 1959 to serve as advisory boards to the chancellor) were legally recognized. The law also restored the General Student Council and recognized in principle the students' right to participate in the decision making process, but entrusted on the CHE with the power to determine the extent and form of such participation.[74]

The CHE appointed Abraham Díaz González, known for his liberal views, as chancellor of the Río Piedras campus and, under increasing

pressure from the academic community, liberalized the rules concerning student and faculty extracurricular activities within the university. Still, the ROTC question continued fueling student unrest. With the triumph of the pro-statehood and virulently anti-independence **Partido Nuevo Progresista** (PNP), in the 1968 elections, the mild policy of compromise was rapidly discarded. In 1970, the resignation of two Council members gave the PNP control of the body. Liberal administrators, including Chancellor Díaz González, were fired or forced to resign because of their supposedly contemporizing positions toward the radical student movement. As the confrontation between enemies and supporters of the ROTC program became more disruptive of university life, the government unleashed a repressive campaign. In 1970 and 1971 the police once again entered the UPR and battled the students. In both instances, the institution was closed, radical student leaders were expelled, and professors who actively supported the student demands were persecuted.[75]

Although weakened by the government's harsh response, the reform movement continued its struggle for greater participation in the university decision making process. Then, in 1973, when the University non-instructional staff struck demanding better working conditions, radical student organizations, the Student Council, and sectors of the faculty staff supported the strike to force the administration's hand. The PPD, which had regained control of the government in 1972, responded harshly and ordered the police to enter the University grounds. Once again, the UPR administration closed the institution, expelled student leaders and dismissed activist professors. In 1976, another strike was similarly repressed by government and university authorities.

The initial success of Operation Bootstrap, the new developmental program launched in the late 1940s, also brought about a rapid expansion of private postsecondary institutions. The private sector thrived on the inability of the public sector to satisfy the growing demands for college-educated personnel. Before 1940, there were only two private liberal arts colleges on the island--**Colegio del Sagrado Corazón**[76] in Río Piedras and the **Instituto Politécnico** in San Germán--[77] and a handful of technical schools. By 1970, however, the number and size of private institutions had risen considerably. Most of the new post-secondary institutions were oriented toward business administration and technical education in response to market demands for a trained labor force in those areas.[78] Private four-year liberal arts colleges also blossomed during this period. By 1975, the **Universidad Católica,**[79] founded in 1948, had two other campuses on the Island; and the **Universidad Interamericana** (formerly the **Instituto Politécnico**) which up to 1955 consisted of only one campus, had opened over seven other regional branches.[80] In the late 1940s, the two year college made its appearance with the establishment of the Puerto Rico Junior College in Río Piedras. Accredited in 1957, the PRJC had three campuses by 1964.[81] The increasing importance of private colleges was clearly exemplified by the changing patterns in student enrollments. Whereas in 1939-1940 private institutions accounted for only 8.1 percent of the college student population, by 1975-76 the figure had climbed to 49.3 percent.[82]

The expansion of post-secondary education in Puerto Rico was such that by 1960 the island could boast of having one of the highest rate of college students per 1000 inhabitants in the world.[83] By 1976, approximately 28 percent of the island's school-age population between 18 and 24 years old was attending college, compared to 1.8 pecent for 1940.[84] The extension of federal student financial aid programs during the 1970s continued feeding this phenomenal growth.

Ironically, the Puerto Rican community in the United States did not fare as well in the great expansion in American higher education that accompanied the postwar economic boom.

PUERTO RICANS IN THE UNITED STATES; THE STRUGGLE FOR ACCESS

One of the human costs of Operation Bootstrap was the massive displacement of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Before 1940, the Puerto Rican population in the metropolis was relatively small, totalling less than 70,000, most of which resided in New York City.[85] In the late 1940's, however, demographic patterns change abruptly as a result of the colonial developmental program. Insular officials began to actively encourage the relocation of the island's surplus labor force to the United States in an attempt to relieve the financial and political pressures on the still fragile new colonial arrangement.[86] Promises of better job opportunities coupled with cheap and effective transportation led increasing numbers of Puerto Ricans workers to move to the United States. The sustained boom experienced by the American economy during the 1950's and the 1960's continued stimulating this migratory trend. Meanwhile, a high birth rate among the immigrants contributed to rapid demographic growth. Thus between 1940 and 1960, the Puerto Rican population in the United States climbed to 887,000; ten years later, according to the 1970 census, one third of all Puerto Ricans, about 1.4 million, lived in the metropolis.[87]

But the promises of a better life never materialized for the great majority of Puerto Rican immigrants and their offspring. Primarily an unskilled and semi-skilled labor force, Puerto Ricans came to an advanced industrialized capitalist society, where a pervasive racist ideology and practices had historically served as an instrument to perpetuate the subordination of non-white racial and ethnic groups as a labor pool for low paying and low status jobs. Treated as second class citizens and discriminated in the job market, most Puerto Ricans had to settle in the economically depressed neighborhoods of New York City, and to a lesser extent, of other major urban centers on the East Coast and the Midwest.

As in other spheres of American life, discriminatory practices against Puerto Ricans pervaded the whole educational system. The majority of the immigrants' children had no other alternative but to attend overpopulated, ill-equipped and inadequately staffed schools in their neighborhoods. An instrument of cultural reproduction of the dominant ideology, the American school system systematically subjected

Puerto Rican children to a thorough assault on their ethnic identity and their self-esteem. The whole school environment--administrators, teachers, counselors, textbooks, tests, curricula and pedagogical practices--combined to instill in the children the myth of their inferiority.[88] Evidence of the discriminatory make-up of the system was the use of achievement and assessment tools in English, specifically standardized IQ tests. Even though educational policy makers and school officials were aware of the Puerto Rican students' distinct cultural background and their lack of mastery of the English language, schools consistently used these tests as a basis for determining intellectual capability and achievement. Such practices led to the classification of a relatively high percentage of Puerto Rican students, especially recent arrivals, as slow learners. Many were assigned to classes for the Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR). Growing up under such adverse and hostile conditions inside and outside the school setting, under pressure to provide economic support to their families, and with little real incentive to continue their formal education, a large proportion of Puerto Rican youth left school.[89]

Although important, the persistent drop-out problem was only one of several factors accounting for the virtual lack of representation of continental Puerto Ricans in institutions of higher education in the United States. Those students who remained in school still had to face other major stumbling blocks. For one, the dominant prejudice against Puerto Ricans' intellectual capabilities had crystallized into a discernible tracking pattern by which high school students were steered towards vocational and technical training. Consequently only a small fraction of the already limited number of Puerto Rican high school graduates held the academic diploma required for college admission.[90] The few graduates who wanted to enter college had to continue facing the class and racial discriminatory arrangements of the American educational system. Having been denied a solid education, most Puerto Ricans were in a disadvantageous position in the competition for access, since admission standards--stringent college entrance examinations and grade requirements--worked against them. Finally the high cost of a college education barred many qualified students from enrolling and, in many instances, from completing their degrees. Like the admission process, existing scholarship programs adhered to the myth of objective and fair competition and of equal opportunity to further limit the Puerto Rican students' chances of getting a university education. Furthermore, those accepted were usually tracked into two year community colleges and encouraged to follow technical and para-professional studies. By 1970 only five percent of college age Puerto Ricans in the United States were enrolled in institutions of higher education compared to 45 percent for the total college age population.[91]

During the late 1960's and early 1970's, Puerto Ricans made significant inroads in American higher education in the wake of the intense struggle for the oppressed minorities' civil rights that rocked the country. Like Blacks and Chicanos, Puerto Ricans had shared little of the postwar economic boom, trailing behind all the other groups in employment, income, and education. As time went on, a rapidly growing

and increasingly radicalized protest movement channelled anger and political unrest into rebellious forms of political activity. Federal, state, and local governments responded with a series of corrective measures--civil rights legislation, affirmative action policies, and an ambitious federally sponsored anti-poverty program--directed at defusing the explosive situation.

In this struggle, education became a central issue. Regarding schooling as a key instrument for socioeconomic and political advancement, activists demanded comprehensive educational reforms responsive to the needs of their communities. Foremost among their demands were the rehabilitation of neighborhood schools, community control, participation in the policy making process, school desegregation, competent school personnel, and in the case of Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics, the introduction of bilingual and bicultural programs. These changes, community activists argued, would improve the minority children's academic performance and therefore facilitate access to colleges and universities. Institutions of higher education also had to undergo radical changes in their admission policies and curricula.

In the area of higher education, the federal government's response opened new opportunities for minority participation. By virtue of the Civil Rights Act (1964), discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity was prohibited in federally supported colleges and universities. That same year, the Economic Opportunity Act authorized the creation of several programs--Upward Bound and Work Study--specifically designed to promote access to college among economically disadvantaged groups. A year later, the federal government proclaimed a set of egalitarian principles in American higher education and inaugurated the Educational Opportunity Grant, (EOG) the first federally funded scholarship program based on need. This was followed, in 1968, by the establishment of the TRIO program--Upward Bound, Talent Search and Special Services--which provided economically disadvantaged students non-financial support services designed to facilitate admission and successful completion of their college studies. In 1972, the federal government instituted the last two important financial aid programs of this period: the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant (BEOG/Pell), designed to help eligible undergraduate students from low income families to finance their college education, and the Supplemental State Incentive Grant (SSIG), a matching program created to encourage state financial support for needy students.[92]

Although important, federal initiatives were slow in bringing about a significant change in the status of Puerto Ricans in American higher education. Colleges and universities hoisted the banner of academic excellence to resist any substantial change in their admission and hiring policies. This resistance led to increasing confrontation of minority students and community activists with university authorities and educational policy-makers, adding more fuel to the campus unrest of the 1960's. Under increasing pressure from students and responding to their actual and potential dependence on federal funds, major public universities in urban areas with sizable minority populations began to

modify their exclusionary policies by instituting special admission and support programs and undertaking important curricular reforms.

The Puerto Rican struggle for access to higher education spread throughout the East Coast and several Midwestern urban centers with sizable pockets of Puerto Rican population. In Chicago (ILL), Newark (NJ), and Gary (IND), Puerto Rican students and community activists mobilized to demand open admission and financial aid programs. But the main battlefield was New York City, which by 1960 accounted for approximately 80 percent of the Puerto Ricans in the United States. There the main focus of Puerto Rican activism was the City University of New York (CUNY).[93]

Since its foundation in 1847, CUNY had offered free admission to all New York City's public school graduates as a means to satisfy the city's growing needs for highly specialized technicians and professionals. Still, its adherence to traditional admissions requirements had effectively restricted access to the educationally neglected Puerto Rican and Black population. The situation began to change in the 1960's, when the University established special admissions programs--SEEK and College Discovery--which created a modest opening for minority students without upsetting the status quo.[94]

But increasing student unrest, along with a critical assessment of the potentially dangerous political and economic consequences of the existing exclusionary policies with regards to the rapidly growing minority population, led the Board of Trustees in 1968 to consider the adoption of an open admission program beginning in 1975. Under this plan, every New York City high school graduate would be admitted in the system regardless of their academic credentials. The Board also approved the opening of a community college--Eugenio María de Hostos--to serve specifically the predominantly Puerto Rican population in the South Bronx. These concessions, however, could not contain the growing unrest among Black and Puerto Rican students, who pressed their demands for immediate far-reaching measures. Faced with a rapidly deteriorating situation, the Board adopted in 1969 several significant measures, including the immediate implementation of the Open Admission policy.[95]

Even though the main beneficiaries of CUNY's new admission program were white students,[96] the program was instrumental in bringing about a relatively rapid expansion of the Black and Puerto Rican college population during the first half of the 1970's. Whereas in 1969 there were 5,425 Puerto Rican undergraduates in the system, by 1975 they numbered 18,570, an increase from 4.0 to 8.3 percent of the University's total enrollment.[97] Approximately 35 percent of the Hispanic student population--mostly Puerto Rican (75 percent)--would not have been accepted by CUNY four-year colleges under the old admission criteria. In the community colleges, about three-fourths of these students entered college as a result of the new policy.[98]

But as in other public universities, the tracking of Puerto Rican students into two year community colleges remained a permanent feature

of the CUNY system. Even though this practice was relaxed to increase Puerto Rican representation in the four-year colleges, CUNY's admissions officials tended to assign students to non-elite senior colleges.[99] Furthermore, the University's failure to develop an articulated transfer system from community to senior colleges also hindered the entry of Puerto Ricans to four-year liberal art colleges.

Puerto Rican demands were not limited to the access question. Seeking to reaffirm their ethnic identity and to generate a better understanding of their past experience and present situation, Puerto Rican activists called for the introduction of courses and programs in Puerto Rican Studies. Students also envisioned these programs as vital links with the community that would assist in the formation of an educated and dedicated Puerto Rican leadership at the service of their people's needs and aspirations.[100]

As the Puerto Rican students' stronghold, CUNY experienced the struggle for the new programs more intensely. In 1969, as part of the concessions granted to Puerto Rican and Black students, the Board of Trustees approved the inclusion of ethnic studies in the curricula. That same year five CUNY colleges opened Puerto Rican Studies programs. By 1973, Puerto Rican activists won another important battle when the Board yielded to their request for the creation of a specialized research unit on Puerto Rican affairs, the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños.[101] Throughout the State, other public and private institutions of higher education, including the State University (SUNY), Yale, Pace, New York University (NYU) and Fordham, responded to student pressures and established their own programs dealing with the Puerto Rican experience. Meanwhile, similar developments were taking place in New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. In the Midwest, Puerto Ricans joined forces with Chicano students to secure Latino studies programs with Puerto Rican and Chicano sequences.[102]

The influx of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic students, the creation of programs designed to serve this new population, and the federal government's mandate to create affirmative action programs in federally sponsored institutions, combined to open a new space for Puerto Rican professionals in American higher education. But the scarcity of continental Puerto Ricans with the required academic credentials and, most importantly, the persistence of discriminatory practices in the hiring process, tended to confine the Puerto Rican presence to the ethnic programs and support services specifically designed to serve Puerto Rican and other Hispanic students.

Understandably, the major concentration of Puerto Rican professionals in post-secondary institutions was found in the CUNY system. Between 1970 and 1975, the Puerto Rican representation in the University instructional staff increased from 247 to 537. In percentage terms, however, the growth was not very significant since it represented an increment from 1.6 to 2.4 percent. Furthermore, the highest increase took place among *part-time* faculty--from 18 to 122 (up 577 percent)--

while the Puerto Rican tenure bearing faculty grew at a lesser rate, from 50 to 135 (up 132 percent).[103]

Although hardly satisfactory, Puerto Rican inroads in American higher education during the late 1960's and early 1970's were significant. But fundamentally the result of external pressures on a traditionally elitist and usually hostile institution, these accomplishments rested on shaky foundations. When the United States economy contracted in the mid-1970's, the resulting deterioration of the Puerto Ricans' conditions and the retrenchment policies implemented by institutions of higher education to deal with budgetary cutbacks combined to undermine these advances.

THE CRISIS OF U.S. CAPITALISM AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION

By the early 1970's, the United States' economic system was under strong recessionary pressures. Internal monopolistic concentration, the transnationalization of American capital, and European and Japanese competition, had weakened the national economy. Then, in 1973, an international manipulation of oil prices brought about a sharp increase in production costs, further undermining the competitiveness of American-made goods, driving some regions and industrial sectors into a sustained decline. Industrial bankruptcy, production slowdown, coupled with American capitalists' resistance to invest in the native industrial sector, yielded higher unemployment rates, wage freezes, salary cuts and a rising cost of living for the American working classes and the economically vulnerable racial and ethnic minorities. The economic plight of Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Blacks, was heightened by either freezes or sharp cuts in fundamental public services, including education, imposed by federal and state policy-makers to deal with the contraction of revenues. The recession was particularly severe in the Midwest and Eastern states, where the immense majority of Puerto Ricans in the United States reside.[104] In these regions, the fiscal crunch led institutions of higher education, especially those supported with public funds, to reduce operational costs. Invariably, the newer compensatory and ethnic studies programs, and the minority student population were to experience the retrenchment policies in full force.

On the Island, the structural limitations of the colonial developmental program had become manifest since the early 1960s. Rising production costs and foreign competition lessened the attractiveness of Puerto Rico as an investment haven for American capital. The colonial administration's capacity to guarantee highly favorable conditions for American investors was further undermined by the partial extension in 1964 of the federal minimum wage legislation to the Island. These new developments not only discouraged prospective investments in the island's labor intensive industrial sector, but also resulted in the exodus to more profitable regions in the Caribbean and other Third World nations of established manufacturing plants, especially those whose tax exempt status had or was about to end. In response to the approaching crisis, policy-makers redirected their efforts to attract capital intensive

industries. The insular government hoped that this productive sector would generate ancillary enterprises that would, in turn, provide thousands of jobs for the Puerto Ricans. In the meantime, the state began to take a more direct role in the labor market, and by 1970 it had become the single major employer. Although effective in the short run, this strategy proved to be futile. When in 1973 the so-called energy crisis hit the United States, the weaker dependent colonial economy almost came to the brink of collapse: the growth rate turned negative and unemployment figures soared from 12 percent in 1973 to 23 percent in 1977. By 1983 conservative official estimates showed that at least 26.3 percent of the island's labor force was unemployed. Since the mid-seventies, the breakdown of the insular economy and of the higher education system has been averted by massive transfers of federal funds and by a skyrocketing public debt.[105]

THE BACKLASH AGAINST THE PUERTO RICAN PRESENCE IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: 1975-TO PRESENT

Developments in New York City and the CUNY system clearly illustrated the detrimental effects of the economic crisis on the Puerto Rican presence in American higher education. After World War II, rising production costs in the city had led an increasing number of established manufacturing and business companies to seek low labor-costs in more profitable regions. This process, which accelerated during the late 1960's, resulted in growing unemployment rates among the unskilled labor force, where the majority of Puerto Rican workers were concentrated. At another level, this phenomenon along with the so-called "white professional flight" to adjacent urban areas offering lower costs of living and better public services severely strained the municipal treasury. The 1973-75 recession worsened the situation, and in 1975 a heavily indebted city government went bankrupt.

The city administration's strategy to overcome the fiscal crisis was to drastically reduce public spending. Such a policy predominantly affected the Puerto Rican and Black population as the advances made during the last decade in the public service sector and the expansion of social programs--health, housing, and education--were sacrificed for the sake of political and fiscal expediency.

One of the results of the new fiscal policy was the radical reorganization of the CUNY system. To deal with budgetary constraints, the CUNY administration devised a retrenchment program consisting of sharp cut-backs in student enrollment, personnel and academic programs, as well as the introduction of a new tuition policy. The strategy to reduce the student population included the ending of the 129 year old tradition of free tuition and the establishment of a tuition fee comparable to other major public universities across the nation. In another major backlash, CUNY officials phased out the seven year old Open Admissions program. From then on, only applicants with a high school average of at least 80 percent and in the upper third of their class could qualify for admission into four-year colleges. Furthermore, the administration

tightened financial aid regulations and retention standards. These policy changes, CUNY top officials conceded, would considerably reduce the opportunities of Puerto Ricans and Blacks, who were academically less prepared and financially less able to pursue a college education. Very little, however, was done to prevent the deteriorating conditions of these groups in the University.

CUNY's new policies, combined with the worsening economic situation of the Puerto Rican community and the decay of the public schools in their neighborhoods, brought the growth of the Puerto Rican student population in the university to a halt. Although the percentage of Puerto Rican enrollment increased from 8.3 in 1975 to 9.7 in 1982, the actual numbers diminished from 18,570 to 15,416 during the same period.[106] Meanwhile, the practice of tracking Puerto Ricans into two year colleges continued firmly entrenched in the system.

Another indicator of the shrinking Puerto Rican presence in CUNY was the steady waning of Puerto Rican Studies programs. Following the 1975 fiscal crisis, the CUNY administration dictated a series of guidelines for retrenchment in the academic programs division, which directed the colleges to support the established traditional departments and programs over their newer and smaller counterparts. Ethnic studies and special support academic services specifically created to serve minority students' educational needs were targeted for termination. Six of the seventeen existing Puerto Rican Studies programs closed as a consequence of this policy. Most of the surviving programs languished as the administration drastically cut the already limited administrative and faculty lines.[107] The decline in Puerto Rican student enrollment and the weak integration of these programs with the colleges' general plan of study coupled with the rapid growth of other Hispanic Caribbean college student population, induced some of the remaining programs to stretch their meager resources to encompass other Caribbean experiences as a survival strategy.

As part of its fiscal austerity program, the CUNY administration also attempted to close Hostos College--the only bilingual college and the one with the greatest proportion of Puerto Rican students. This attempt, however, failed. Intense pressure from Puerto Rican students and grass-roots organizations, as well as the Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus' successful lobbying efforts in the State Legislature assured the financial support needed to keep the college functioning.[108]

As in the case of the Puerto Rican students, CUNY's retrenchment policies worked against the interests of the Puerto Rican academic personnel. The prevailing policy of seniority and tenure rights was officially favored over the affirmative action system as the basis for lay-off and firing procedures. Thus, the great majority of Puerto Rican professionals, who had gained access to the University during the previous years and were concentrated in ethnic studies and support services programs, were adversely affected. A reported slight increase in the percentage of Puerto Rican instructional staff for the period 1974-1982 from 2.4 to 3.0 distorts the less flattering reality since the increment took place almost exclusively in the part-time faculty category.

In contrast, the number of tenure bearing faculty actually decreased from 135 to 94 during this eight year lapse. The representation of Puerto Rican faculty in four-year colleges also diminished. Whereas in 1974, the majority of Puerto Rican teaching staff (62.8 percent) worked in senior colleges, by 1982 they comprised only 40.8 percent. The seriousness of this displacement of Puerto Rican faculty to community colleges was underscored by the fact that 29 percent of CUNY's total Puerto Rican teaching force in 1982 was found in one college--Hostos Community--compared to only 12.7 percent for 1974-1975.[109]

In the meantime during this period of crisis in the United States, the complex web of American colonial politics was producing in Puerto Rico a unique phenomenon: a tremendous expansion of higher education under an almost bankrupt dependent economy.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF "OPERATION BOOTSTRAP" AND THE PERMANENT CRISIS OF PUERTO RICAN HIGHER EDUCATION: 1974-TO PRESENT

The sharp contraction of state revenues that accompanied the insular economic crisis forced the government to curb public expenditures. Basic public services, including education, degenerated as the crisis dragged on. By the mid-50s the UPR, whose financial solvency depended almost exclusively on public appropriations, was no longer able to sustain its modest but steady growth and entered a declining phase. An increase in federal aid packages, mostly in the form of student scholarships and loans, helped cushion the process. This dependence on federal assistance continued and by 1983 approximately 17.6 percent of the university budget stemmed from federal programs, and 60 percent of the students received some kind of federal financial support.[110] Still lacking substantive financial resources, the institution could do little to improve its already deteriorating physical facilities and inadequate library resources, and to develop sound basic research and academic programs, particularly at the graduate level. The lingering fiscal crisis also imposed greater limitations on the University's capacity to satisfy a growing demand for access. To stabilize enrollments, it had no recourse but to deny admission to a disproportionate percentage of qualified applicants. Between 1976 and 1983, the student population at UPR grew very slowly, from 50,225 to 51,273, an increase of roughly 1,000 students in seven years.[111]

Decisions made by metropolitan authorities in the early 1980's further exacerbated the institution's problems. For one, the election of a new presidential administration in 1980 with its conservative fiscal agenda that called for drastic cuts in the federal budget for public services, including college financial aid programs, heightened uncertainty about its future. That same year, the Middle States Association sent shock waves through the institution with its threat to withdraw official accreditation unless immediate corrective measures were adopted.[112]

Faced with the prospect of losing accreditation and lacking the financial resources needed to undertake the dictated reforms, the Council on Higher Education decreed an increase in tuition fees for undergraduate

and graduate students starting August, 1981 without consulting the appropriate university bodies. The proposed fees generated intense opposition among the UPR student body and academic staff, specially in the Río Piedras Campus. When the CHE refused to consider other formulas presented by different representatives of the academic community, an impasse ensued. In September of that year, a student assembly in Río Piedras declared a strike that lasted five months, characterized by intense student militancy and governmental repressive policies. Even though the new tuition system remained in force and key student leaders were expelled, the Council agreed in principle to provide some financial support to needy students, including those in graduate programs.[113] Another result of the CHE's intransigent attitude was the intensification of internal conflicts in the already beleaguered University.

Along with the tuition increase, the CHE's response to the Middle State Association's demands included the transformation of the Río Piedras campus into a center for graduate studies and research. The project however, had clear political overtones. By calling for the elimination of the first two years of the undergraduate program, the Council was attempting to dismantle the Social Science, Humanities and General Studies colleges, the traditional centers of radical political activism in the Puerto Rican higher education system. Strong opposition from the academic community, including top administrative officials, and the potential for further instability convinced the CHE to shelve this component of the project.

In sharp contrast with developments in the public university system, student enrollment in private post-secondary institutions more than doubled between 1973 and 1983. Such an extraordinary growth was fundamentally supported by the extension in 1973 of the Pell Grants Program (BEOG) to Puerto Rico, which allowed students from working class background broader access to higher education. Given the existing federal financial requirements for such aid and the island's relatively low family income, an extremely high percentage of the college age population qualified for this federal assistance. In addition to the accessibility of federal aid, the severe contraction of job opportunities that resulted in extremely high unemployment among Puerto Rican youth (68 percent by 1981) enhanced the practicality of a college education as a way of developing better skills and of postponing incorporation to the distressed labor market.[114]

The public sector's chronic incapacity to accommodate increasing enrollments led many prospective students to register in the more expensive and usually less prestigious private institutions. Finally, the massive direct college aid transfers made postsecondary education an extremely profitable financial enterprise in the island's faltering economy. Geared to profit considerations, many private institutions set low admission standards to attract the new clientele. Thus by 1983, the private sector's share of the total college enrollment was 62.3 percent compared to 41 percent for 1973. Of this population, approximately 86 percent received some kind of federal subsidy. That same year, federal

transfers contributed three-fourths of the total private higher education sector operating budget.[115]

This quantitative expansion in the private sector, however, was not accompanied by an overall qualitative improvement in the system. Lacking a sound developmental strategy to guide it and determined by short term financial and political assessments, this uncontrolled growth indeed intensified the problems of colonial higher education. Many private institutions have swelled their enrollments without developing an adequate academic infrastructure--a qualified teaching staff, suitable library resources, physical facilities and equipment--needed for effective functioning. In the specific case of the growing low income student population whose inadequate academic preparation has been essentially the result of existing economic inequalities, these institutions have usually failed to create the special support services needed to improve their chances for college success. The problem of attrition has been extremely acute: according to estimates the dropout rate for 1979 was approximately 70 percent. Moreover, many of the students who persisted were not advancing toward graduation.[116]

In the insular policy-makers' survival strategy, the private sector's capacity to secure large sums of federal funds fulfilled an important function as higher education assumed an important stabilizing role in the faltering political structure. As with other federal transfers, this aid helps conceal the singular character of colonial exploitation on the Island, specifically the function such assistance programs perform as indirect subsidies to American corporations. At another level, federal transfers have resulted in thousands of jobs in the private higher education sector for instructional and non-instructional staff. Moreover, these monies offer a significant number of Puerto Rican youth--about 49.2 of the population between 19 and 22 years of age in 1978--an alternative to unemployment after high school graduation.[117] All these factors provide an internal escape valve to the critical unemployment problem and, therefore, lessens the likelihood of widespread political instability.[118]

PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

In the short run, it is highly unlikely that the deterioration of Puerto Rican status in American higher education and of the insular postsecondary education system will be arrested, unless drastic measures are taken. Present economic and political circumstances in the United States and the Island are not conducive to an improvement in the material conditions of the majority of the Puerto Rican people. In spite of the Reagan administration's rhetoric and the electoral promises of the party in power--the ideologically bankrupt Popular Democratic Party--neither the metropolitan nor the insular economy has been able to overcome their structural limitations. With Reagan's re-election, conservative policy-makers have gained four more years to implement their national economic recovery program, which calls for a revitalization of American capitalism at the further expense of the working classes and the poorer sectors of the population. A key component in the

conservative fiscal agenda is the dismantling of the existing federal public welfare system as a means to stimulate the economy and reduce the national deficit.

In this strategy, federal aid to education, especially to higher education, is a major target. The administration is presently requesting a $2.5 billion cut in federal college assistance, including $70 million in the Pell Grant Program. The proposed budget also calls for the elimination of several key programs--the State Supplemental Incentive Grant (SSIG), the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grant (SEOG), and the National Direct Student Loan (NDSL) Program--which have been instrumental in keeping college doors partially open to the working class and minority groups. The adoption of such measures along with the proposed $4,000 cap on all federal student aid and a 40 percent self-help contribution, would represent a drastic shrinkage of the Puerto Rican college population at both ends of the imperial circuit, and a major setback for the Puerto Rican working classes.[119]

As an oppressed minority, Puerto Ricans in the United States are experiencing the conservative backlash in full force. The Reagan administration's attempts to subvert the Civil Rights legislation and programs, and the ascendancy of fiscal and political conservatism at the state and local policy-making levels, strengthen discriminatory and exclusionary practices in higher education. As a result of contracting federal and state support for post-secondary institutions, public colleges and universities are seeking closer ties with private corporations. Under present conditions, the growing competition for private funds is likely to reinforce the present institutional trend towards establishing stringent college admission and retention standards. Considering the disadvantageous educational conditions to which the immense majority of the Puerto Ricans are subjected, the new partnership between higher education and private enterprise will do little to improve college opportunities for them and other minorities.

The development of strategies for overcoming this critical juncture is of utmost urgency. Given the demographics of the main urban centers with sizable Puerto Rican population, coalitions with other minorities as a means for political empowerment is an important strategy in the Puerto Rican struggle for equality. To be effective, such a process must encompass all spheres of American society, including higher education. A first step in that direction is the creation and consolidation of militant college student and professional organizations with close links to the communities. With community support, these groups should maintain constant monitoring, lobbying and pressure on colleges and universities so that community needs are seriously considered in the policy-making process. By studying their past experiences in higher education, the forces that shaped it, the expansionary and contraction periods, the weaknesses and strengths of past reinvindicative movements, Puerto Ricans would be better prepared to fight against the present discriminatory structures.

On the Island the existence of the entire colonial higher education system ultimately remains at the mercy of policy-making processes over which the islanders have no control. Because of total dependence on federal transfers, any substantial reduction in these allocations could be political dynamite for the present colonial arrangement. At a moment when the Reagan administration is seeking sharp cuts in social programs, insular policy makers have no option but to request more federal aid to keep the colony afloat. In higher education, Puerto Rican officials and educational entrepreneurs have joined hands to lobby in the United States Congress for the reauthorization and expansion of the Higher Education Act. A key proposal calls for an initiative to strengthen the "Historically Hispanic Universities in the United States", a measure that if approved would chiefly benefit the insular institutions. Another seeks to give Puerto Rican universities a pivotal role in the implementation of the Caribbean Basin Initiative on the grounds that they are uniquely fit for imparting the technical, ideological, and political formation needed for launching this new venture.[122] Both initiatives, however, have received little support in Washington.

In the meantime, tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans continue transiting the colonial circuit back and forth every year in desperate search of the better life promised by the ideologues of American colonialism. In the process, their children continue suffering "the double penalty of attending two systems of public education whose insufficiencies and inadequacies are further compounded by their incompatibilities."[123]

AN AGENDA FOR RESEARCH

During the last decade, the literature on the Puerto Rican experience in higher education has been enriched by important scholarly works. Transcending the limitations of traditional institutional studies, these contributions have analyzed the interrelationship between socioeconomic and political factors and the educational process. Still, knowledge of this facet of our experience is fragmented.

Among the topics that demand further study is a class analysis of the educational policy-making process. What have been the attitudes of the different classes and their political representatives towards these policies at different historical moments? How are conflicts between American policy-makers and Puerto Rican interests resolved? What has determined final outcomes? Which native classes or class sectors in Puerto Rico benefitted from them? Such an approach will illuminate our understanding of the different stages of development of Puerto Rican higher education, specifically the early development of the University of Puerto Rico, the 1920s reform program and the pan-Americanization project, the university reorganization of the 1940s, the phenomenal expansion of postsecondary education in the 1970s and early 1980s, and the present attempts to overhaul the university system in light of the general crisis experienced by the Puerto Rican society. As in the rest of the educational system, we are still in need of thorough studies dealing with the content of colonial higher education. How does colonial

domination determine what is taught, which teaching material and pedagogical methods are used, and their effects on the ideological formation of the population? These studies would contribute to our knowledge of the complex nature of Puerto Rican colonial politics and colonialism in general.

Access and retention are also crucial issues that need further study in the insular context. Has the question of access been solved by the extension of the federal aid programs, as Puerto Rican university officials claim? To what degree is the differentiation between access and retention an artificial one clouding the class question? Another issue that requires attention is the much discussed "brain drain", as American corporations increasingly recruit college graduates from the Island to work in the United States. What is the true dimension of the problem? What are the implications for the Island and for the Puerto Rican community in the United States?

Concerning the Puerto Rican educational experience in the United States, much still has to be done. We still have to fully ascertain the effects of affirmative action policies and student access and retention programs on our community. Has the Puerto Rican working class, which comprises the immense majority of our population, benefitted from these policies? How does resistance on the part of institutions of higher education to developing curricular programs adapted to the unique needs of our student population affect their chances for success? The few existing studies dealing with these issues have been basically restricted to the New York City experience. Dispersion patterns of the Puerto Rican population in the United States during the last decade, however, demand an increasing awareness of the Puerto Rican situation in other sections of the country. Is the experience the same for the Puerto Rican population in the rest of the United States? If not, which factors account for the difference? These and other questions need to be answered in order to recreate a full picture of Puerto Ricans in United States higher education and the development of strategies for improving the general condition of our people.

Research on the topic, however, is seriously hindered by the lack of reliable public data. Existing federal, state, local, and college governments have routinely aggregated all peoples of Spanish-American background under the general category "Hispanics" without regard for each national group's particular history and conditions. Public officials' resistance to disaggregate data for each group is further strengthened by the Reagan administration's conservative policies. Therefore, the researchers' ability to satisfactorily study the Puerto Rican reality in the United States is, to a great extent, dependent on the capacity to convince public officials to institute more responsive data gathering systems and to develop, in the meanwhile, alternative methods for collecting the information needed.

Finally, it is important to start producing comparative research on Puerto Ricans and other ethnic/racial groups in American higher education, specifically Blacks and the different Hispanic groups. Such studies should be approached from an historical, class/ethnic perspective

in order to avoid the ideological and methodological pitfalls of traditional social science. Politically, this research could also serve the process of coalition building by demonstrating the structural conditions that relegate Puerto Ricans and other racial/ethnic groups to the bottom of the American socioeconomic system.

NOTES

1. For an account of educational developments in Puerto Rico during Spanish colonial times see Juan José Osuna, The History of Education in Puerto Rico 2nd. ed. (Río Piedras, 1949), pp. 1-124. A more critical analysis of Spanish colonial educational policies on the Island is Roamé Torres-González, "Democracy and Personal Autonomy in the Puerto Rican School System: A Socio-Historic Survey and Critique of Educational Development", Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1983, pp. 62-275.

2. A general account of the Puerto Rican higher education experience under Spanish colonial rule is found in Osuna, History, pp. 103-122. For a more detailed study of Puerto Rican responses to Spanish higher education policies see Isabel Picó de Hernández, "Los estudiantes universitarios y los conflictos políticos bajo la dominación española." Revista de Ciencias Sociales 23 (marzo-junio 1981): 71-90.

3. The first order banning Puerto Ricans and Cubans from attending American educational institutions was decreed on November 18, 1799. Although the order was reenacted on several occasions during the nineteenth century, the practice continued. See Lidio Cruz Monclova, Historia de Puerto Rico (Siglo XIX) I, 6th. ed. (Río Piedras, 1970), pp. 204, 320-322, 489.

4. See Cayetano Coll y Toste, Historia de la instrucción pública en Puerto Rico hasta el año 1898 (Bilbao, España, 1970), pp. 155-161; Osuna, History, pp. 111-112.

5. U.S. War Department, Porto Rico Census Office, Report on the Census of Porto Rico (Washington, D.C., 1900), pp. 72-75, 243; Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1901, p. 51.

6. The expansionist strategy followed by the different administrations during the 1890s was formulated during the Harrison administration. In 1891, the President and his Secretary of State began to seriously consider the annexation of some extra-continental territory. In Secretary Blaine's view, there were only "three places that are of value enough to be taken than are not continental. One is Hawaii, the others are Cuba and Porto Rico." Quoted in Walter LaFeber, The New American Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898 (New York, 1973), p. 110. For an excellent analysis of American imperialist designs for the Spanish islands see Philip S. Foner, The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895-1898 (New York, 1972), pp. 281-310.

7. As the colonial Commissioner of Education noted, "colonization carried forward by the armies of war is vastly more costly than that carried forward by the armies of peace, whose outpost and garrisons are the

public schools of the advancing nation." Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1902 (Washington, D.C., 1902), p. 257.

8. To expand the system without Americanizing was considered politically dangerous. Victor Clarke, the first colonial superintendent of the public school system reported: "if it is allowed to remain European...the very improvement of the public school system may tend only to alienate the people in their fundamental sympathies from the government of which they form part...The great mass of the Puerto Ricans are yet passive and plastic, knowing nothing of school methods and systems but blindly and unequivocally grasping towards the light. Their ideas are in our hands to create and mold." In George W. Davis, Civil Affairs of Porto Rico, 1899 (Washington, D.C., 1900), p. 180.

9. For a study of the Americanization program in the public school system of Puerto Rico see Aída Negrón de Montilla, Americanization in Puerto Rico and the Public School System, 1900-1930 (Río Piedras, 1981).

10. In 1948, Mariano Villaronga became the first Commissioner of Education appointed by an elected Puerto Rican governor. Osuna, History, p. 602.

11. The first measures taken by the colonial government to Americanize the teaching profession are discussed in Osuna, History, pp. 152-182.

12. Quoted in Negrón de Montilla, Americanization, p. 68. For a description of the 1904 Puerto Rican teachers' summer excursion to the United States, see Osuna, History, pp. 169-171.

13. Osuna, History, pp. 249-251.

14. Ibid, pp. 160-163.

15. By 1919, the UPR (Río Piedras) had granted 1,747 diplomas, of which 1,465 (83.8%) were for teaching. The remaining were divided as follows: 175 high school diplomas, 57 bachelors of law, 41 pharmaceutical chemists, five bachelors of science, and four bachelors of art. The CAAM, on the other hand, had granted 116 diplomas. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1919 (Washington, D.C., 1919), p. 555.

16. Reflecting the dominant view within the colonial educational officials, Arthur D. Dean reported that Puerto Rico needed "men trained to plan the work for other workmen...men so trained that they could almost revolutionize agricultural methods, and who would be able to carry out the direction laid down by capitalists and promoters." The solution, he insisted, was to organize a Tuskegee or a Hampton Institute in Puerto Rico, which could be established with the Morrill Act. See Arthur D. Dean, "Special Report on the Plans for the Organization of the Industrial Schools in Puerto Rico" in Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1903 (Washington, D.C., 1903), p. 278.

17. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1908 (Washington D.C., 1908), pp. 20-21, 274.

18. In 1910, the colonial Commissioner of Education reported that military training should be one of the important branches in the curriculum of the University. The War Department assigned a retired major to direct the courses on military science and tactics, and supplied the training weapons. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1910 (Washington, 1910), p. 189.

19. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1920 (Washington, D.C., 1920), p. 30.

20. Osuna, History, pp. 256-257; Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1911 (Washington, D.C., 1911), p. 199.

21. Puerto Rican opposition to the Americanization program demanded that immediate attention be given to the formation of an Americanized colonial elite. According to Victor Clark, president of the colonial board of education, "...if left to itself Puerto Rico would not establish them [American schools] until that time comes when a controlling majority of its intelligent classes has received their education in the institutions of the United States." In Davis, Civil Affairs, 1899, p. 179. In 1907, the Commissioner of Education reported enthusiastically to his superiors in Washington that the habit of sending the younger generation to the United States was "more widespread than anticipated" and "will contribute to drawing the two peoples closer together." Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1907 (Washington, D.C., 1907), p. 414.

22. In the composition of its Board of Directors as well as in its objectives, the CEA clearly reflected American expansionist projects for the islands. The original board consisted of avowed imperialists such as Senator Joseph Wheeler, Alexander Orr, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, William H. Baldwin, President of the Long Island Railroad, and Albert Shaw, the director of the influential expansionist journal, Review of Reviews. In 1900, Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood, two of the leading exponents of American expansionism, joined the CEA's Board of Directors. **The Papers of the Cuban Educational Association of the United States** are located in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

23. Once these students, reported the military governor, "complete their studies and return to Puerto Rico thoroughly imbibed with American ideas, it is expected that they will exert a strong influence throughout the island." Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1903 (Washington, D.C., 1903), p. 22.

24. Students were not even allowed to return to the Island for their summer vacations. In 1903, the Commissioner of Education ruled against such a practice, and warned that "any violation of the rule would lead to withdrawal of government support and the filling of his place by another boy." Quoted in Negrón de Montilla, Americanization, p. 82.

25. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1901 (Washington D.C., 1901), p. 51, and Annual Report, 1908 (Washington, D.C., 1908), p. 201.

26. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1907, pp. 30, 413.

27. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1922 (Washington, D.C., 1922), pp. 260-261. See also Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1923 (Washington, D.C., 1923), p. 190.

28. "It is doubtful"--the governor continued--"if the official personnel of any State in the Union will show a larger percentage of college graduates than is now serving in Porto Rico." In Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1925 (Washington, D.C., 1925), pp. 43-44.

29. Osuna, History, pp. 162, 252. It is very telling that the first B.A. degree in Liberal Arts went not to a Puerto Rican but to an American who had transferred most of his credits to the University of Puerto Rico. John H. Baker, "The Relationship of Student Activism at the University of Puerto Rico to the Struggle of Independence in Puerto Rico, 1923-1971" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston College, 1973), p. 59.

30. Janice Rita Petrovich, "The Expansion of Postsecondary Schooling in Puerto Rico" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1979), p. 25.

31. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1918 (Washington D.C., 1918), pp. 31-32, 561-562.

32. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1919, pp. 569, 612.

33. Osuna, History, p. 527. See also Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1919 (Washington D.C., 1919), p. 569; Columbia University, Teachers College, A Survey of the Public Educational System of Puerto Rico (New York, 1926), pp. 422-429.

34. For an overview of American economic expansion in Latin America during the first two decades of the twentieth century and the economic foundations of American foreign policy in the region, see Gordon Cornell-Smith, The United States and Latin America: An Historical Analysis of Inter-American Relations (London, 1974), pp. 107-145.

35. Governor of Porto Rico, Annual Report, 1918, p. 561; Annual Report, 1919, pp. 61, 611-614, Annual Report, 1920, pp. 464-465, Annual Report, 1921, p. 407.

36. Negrón de Montilla, Americanization, pp. 200-206.

37. The 1923-1925 university reform legislation is briefly discussed in Osuna, History, pp. 527-529.

38. The first director was Robert A. Lambert, previously in charge of the Rockefeller Foundation's Pathological Institute in Brazil. He was succeeded by Earl B. McKinley, also a Rockefeller Foundation employee in

the Philippines prior to his appointment in Puerto Rico. Thomas E. Benner, Five Years of Foundation Building: the University of Puerto Rico, 1924-1929 (Río Piedras, 1965), pp. 37-38, 40; Apolinario Castro, "Higher Education in Puerto Rico, 1898-1956" (Ed.D. dissertation, Lehigh University, 1975), pp. 119-125.

39. Negrón de Montilla, Americanization, pp. 203-204.

40. Benner's inauguration left no doubt that the university was entering a new stage of development. Senator Antonio R. Barceló, the leading colonial politician and President of the Senate, asserted that the University should become an important inter-American center because of the island's location and relationship with the United States and Latin America. Professor William E. Russell, Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education of Teachers College, Columbia University noted of the Spanish and Anglo-Saxon traditions in the New World that "at no point do they meet so completely as in Puerto Rico..." and that "given a wise administration, a highly trained faculty, a zealous and devoted student body, and the cooperation and support of the people, there should emerge a new university with a new light which will shine not only on Puerto Rico and the rest of the United States but also on all of Latin America and reflected from both will throw its beams around the world." Benner himself emphasized that the university should try to increase pan-American understanding and to "unite the Anglo-Saxon and Spanish cultures by selecting and interweaving the best of both." Quoted in Benner, Five Years, pp. 12-13.

41. José Vasconcelos, renowned Mexican intellectual, came under strong criticism in both Mexico and Puerto Rico for a series of lectures on pan-Americanism presented at the UPR and was accused of selling out to American imperialism. It is no coincidence that this series of lectures, compiled under the title Indología, was the first book published by the University printing press, Editorial Universitaria. For his account of the controversy see José Vasconcelos, Indología, una interpretación de la cultura iberoamericana (Barcelona, 193?), pp. xii-xxxii. See also Benner, Five Years, pp. 55-57.

42. These debates were highly publicized in the United States and the Island. The theme of the first debate (1926) was whether "the entry of the United States into the League of Nations would strengthen the bonds of Pan-American Union." The second debate (1928) dealt with the practicality of suspending U.S. armed intervention in the Caribbean and of discarding of the concept of national sovereignty. In 1929, the theme was whether the development of pan-Hispanism would serve the future of the Americas better than the continuation of pan-Americanism. See Benner, Five Years, pp. 47, 53, 106-107, 124.

43. According to Benner, financial problems made impossible the establishment of the Institute. The Committee appointed to plan the project included among others Edward L. Barclays, owner of an internationally known corporate public relations firm; Frank Martínez, corporate lawyer; and Albert Shaw and Nicholas Butler, two former Board

members of the Cuban Educational Association, Benner, Five Years, pp. 53-55.

44. Manuel J. Espinosa, Inter-American Beginnings of United States Cultural Diplomacy 1936-1948 (Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 50-58. James Petras, "The Monroe Doctrine and US Hegemony in Latin America" in Vladimir Dedijer, et al, Spheres of Influence in the Third World (Nottingham, 1973), pp. 69-75.

45. The trustee representing the Pan American Union was never appointed. Osuna, History, pp. 535-536.

46. Ibid, pp. 551, 583-584; Governor of Puerto Rico, Annual Report, 1938, p. 40; Annual Report, 1939 (Washington, D.C., 1939), pp. 32, 37-38, 55.

47. For a good account of the breakdown of the traditional colonial political arrangement see Thomas Mathews, Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal (Gainesville, Florida, 1960).

48. It is very revealing that Benner himself recommended Chardón for the position. Chardón's candidacy was also endorsed by Governor Towner, who appointed him as Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor in 1928. Ibid, p. 235.

49. Osuna, History, pp. 536, 540-545.

50. For a discussion of the politicization of the University of Puerto Rico during the 1930's see Isabel Picó de Hernández, La protesta estudiantil en la década del '30: del nacionalismo cultural al nacionalismo político (Río Piedras, 1974), and Baker, "Relationship," pp. 95-126.

51. The Coalition's drive to control the public school system and the University is discussed in Mathews, Puerto Rican Politics, pp. 58-116, 316-322.

52. See Tugwell's **Inaugural Address** (September 19, 1941) and his **Messages to the Fifteenth Legislature** (October 28, 1941 and February 10, 1942). In Rexford G. Tugwell, Puerto Rican Public Papers of R. G. Tugwell (New York, 1975), pp. 8-9, 20-23, 53-56. See also his Stricken Land: the Story of Puerto Rico (New York, 1968), pp. 108-111.

53. A summary of the new education law appears in Osuna, History , pp. 553-555. For an institutional study of the 1942 reform see Rafael Aponte-Hernández, "The University of Puerto Rico: Foundations of the 1942 reform." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1966).

54. Tugwell, Muñoz and Benítez had agreed beforehand that two of the Board members were to be American. Tugwell, Stricken Land, p. 318. This practice came under strong criticism, but was continued until the early 1960s. Gordon K. Lewis, Puerto Rico, libertad y poder en el Caribe (Río Piedras, 1969), p. 603.

55. The law alloted the University a twenty-one hundredth of one percent of all taxable real and personal property and three percent of all monies from taxes on alcohol and alcoholic beverages, besides the $600,000 permanent fund. Between 1942 and 1945, the University income from State appropriations more than doubled from $935,001.25 to $2,355,598.64. Osuna, History, pp. 554, 573.

56. Benítez received his college education in two American institutions, Georgetown University and the University of Chicago. After his return to the island, Benítez began to teach Political Science at the University of Puerto Rico, where he rapidly became a leader of the university reform movement and was persecuted for his pro-independence stance. Charles T. Goodsell, Administración de una revolución. La reforma del poder ejecutivo en Puerto Rico bajo el Gobernador Tugwell, 1941-1946 (Río Piedras, 1967), pp. 85-87; Mathews, Puerto Rican, pp. 292, 319-320.

57. In his **Inaugural Address**, Benítez expressed this view. "I have assumed the tremendous responsibility of directing the University because ...I believe in the potentiality of this organism to serve highly the life, the culture, and the spirit of man in Puerto Rico. I have said to serve *man in Puerto Rico* and not *the Puerto Rican man* in order to underline from the beginning the essential universality of the human being and the essential universality of our tradition." Quoted in Nieves Falcón, Recruitment to Higher Education in Puerto Rico (Río Piedras, 1965), p.55. For a discussion of Benítez' concept of the general education and its critics, see Carmen H. Sanjurjo, "The Educational Thought of Jaime Benítez, Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico from 1942-1966" (Ed.D. dissertation, Teachers College, 1986), pp. 86-128.

58. Nieves Falcón, Recruitment, p. 56.

59. The first challenge to Benítez came shortly after his appointment, when students from the CAAM called a strike to protest his selection to the Vice-Chancellorship of the Mayaguez campus. See Paul C. Parker, "Change and Challenge in Caribbean Higher Education: The Development of the University of the West Indies and the University of Puerto Rico" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1971), pp. 406-407.

60. Ibid, 148-164.

61. Benitez' concept of the university as a **Casa de Estudios** and its critics is discussed in Sanjurjo, "Educational," pp. 46-85.

62. For a brief iscussion of the establishment of the School of Public Administration see Goodsell, Administración, pp. 128-129.

63. Osuna, History, pp. 562-565; Castro, "Higher Education," pp. 126-128.

64. Osuna, History, pp. 571-572; Tugwell, Puerto Rican, pp. 20-21.

65. Governor of Puerto Rico, Annual Report, 1948 (Washington, D.C., 1948), p. 20.

66. Osuna, History, p. 585.

67. Governor of Puerto Rico, Annual Report, 1946 (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 62.

68. Quoted in Osuna, History, p. 585.

69. Petrovich, "Expansion", p. 66.

70. Ibid, 53-56.

71. For a discussion of the social and economic transformation of the 1950s and early 60s brought about by the new colonial developmental program--the so-called "economic miracle of Puerto Rico"--see Henry Wells, The Modernization of Puerto Rico: A Political Study of Changing Values and Institutions (Massachusetts, 1969).

72. The Benítez-Muñoz controversy is briefly discussed in Parker, "Change," pp. 424-425.

73. The political dimension of the student movement of the 1960s and early 1970s is discussed in David Rodríguez Graciani, Rebelión o protesta. La lucha estudiantil en Puerto Rico (Río Piedras, 1972).

74. The political background of the 1966 University reform is discussed in Baker, "Relationship," pp. 186-192, and Parker, "Change," pp. 431-446.

75. For a chronicle of the 1971 events see Luis Nieves Falcón, et al, Puerto Rico, Grito y Mordaza (Río Piedras, 1971).

76. Created in the 1880s and granted the right to confer a college degree in 1935, the **Colegio del Sagrado Corazón** offered a liberal arts education to the daughters of the Puerto Rican elite. See Castro, "Higher Education," pp. 196-204.

77. The **Instituto Politécnico** was founded in 1912 by the Presbyterian Church for the purpose of making out of Puerto Ricans well-rounded American citizens of strong Christian character. In 1919, the colonial authorities authorized it to grant a college degree, and in 1932 accredited it. The college became the Inter American University in 1956. See Castro, "Higher Education," pp. 167-190.

78. Petrovich, "Expansion," pp. 58-60.

79. For a brief description and history of the **Universidad Católica** see Castro, "Higher Education," pp. 204-214.

80. Petrovich, "Expansion," p. 52.

81. Crucita Benítez de Avila, "A Study of the Administrative Developments

of Higher Education in Puerto Rico, 1957-1973" (Ed.D. dissertation, Lehigh University, 1980), pp. 244-251.

82. Petrovich, "Expansion", p. 66.

83. The ratio was higher than many industrialized Western nations including Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany (FR), Greece, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Nieves Falcón, Recruitment, p. 75.

84. Petrovich, "Expansion," p. 109. By 1978-79 it was 29.9 percent. Ronald G. Duncan, "Federal Student Assistance Policy and Higher Education in Puerto Rico", Metas 2 (Spring 1981), p. 22.

85. The most complete study on the formation of the Puerto Rican community in New York is Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1917-1948 (Connecticut, 1983).

86. For a comprehensive interpretation of the Puerto Rican migration phenomenon and its function in the development program see History Task Force, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Labor Migration under Capitalism: The Puerto Rican Experience (New York, 1979), pp. 117-178.

87. By 1975, the Puerto Rican population in the United States had risen to 1.7 million. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Puerto Ricans in the Continent: An Uncertain Future (Washington D.C., 1976), p. 19.

88. For a general understanding of the grave problems Puerto Ricans faced in American schools see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Puerto Ricans, pp. 92-118; Richard J. Margolis, The Losers: A Report of Puerto Ricans in the Public Schools of New York (New York, 1969); Isidro Lucas, Puerto Rican Drop Outs in Chicago: Numbers and Motivations (Chicago, 1971); Victor Alicea and Julie Mathis, Determinants of Educational Attainment Among Puerto Rican Youth in the United States (New York, 1975); Aspira of America, Inc., Social Factors in Education Attainment among Puerto Ricans in the United States Metropolitan Areas (New York, 1970); and U.S. Congress, Senate, Equal Educational Opportunity for Puerto Rican Children: Hearings Before the Select Committee on Educational Opportunity (Washington, 1970).

89. By 1960, the dropout rate for Puerto Rican students was 80 percent, compared to 46 for Blacks and 28 for whites. Alicea, and Mathis, Determinants, p. 21. This scandalous situation has remained unchanged. In 1983, the dropout rate for Hispanics in New York City was 80 percent. Aspira of New York, Racial and Ethnic High School Dropout Rates for New York City: A Summary Report (New York, 1983), p. 1.

90. In 1966, for example, 10,142 Puerto Rican students entered 10th grade in New York City; by 1968 there were only 4,393 Puerto Rican students in 12th grade--an attrition rate of over 50 percent. Of this number only 1,628 were eligible to receive the academic diploma that would allow them

to enter college. Many never graduated. U.S. Congress, Senate, Equal Educational, p. 3731.

91. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Puerto Ricans, pp. 119-129.

92. A historical overview and a description of the different federal college aid programs and legislation concerning higher education is presented in Kenneth C. Green, "Government Support for Minority Participation in Higher Education," paper prepared for the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities," (July 1981). For a critique of federal higher education policies as they relate to Hispanics see Michael Olivas, "Federal Higher Education Policy: The Case of Hispanics," Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis 4 (Fall 1982): 301-310.

93. A comprehensive history of the Puerto Rican struggle for access to higher education in the United States is still to be written. For a concise account of the struggles in New Jersey see Hilda Hidalgo, "Keynote Address" in Hispanic Association of Higher Education of New Jersey, Proceedings of the First New Jersey Statewide Conference on Hispanics in Higher Education (New Jersey, 1978), pp. 5-16. By far the best secondary source on the Puerto Rican struggle for access and the CUNY experience during the 1970s is Josephine Nieves, Puerto Ricans in United States Higher Education (New York, 1979).

94. The College Discovery Program was established in 1964 as an experimental special admission program to provide compensatory education to prepare students to enter into the community colleges. SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge), its counterpart in the four year colleges, began to function in 1966. David E. Lavin, Richard Alba, and Richard Silverstein, Right Versus Privilege: The Open Admissions Program in the City University of New York (New York, 1981), pp. 5-6.

95. For an account of Black and Puerto Rican student struggles leading to the implementation of the Open Admission Policy see Lavin, et al, Right Versus Privilege, pp. 10-20.

96. Ibid, pp. 67-69.

97. CUNY, Data Book, 1975-76, Section "F", Table I, "Ethnic Composition of CUNY Undergraduates Expressed in Numbers and Percentages, Fall 1969-1975," p. 120.

98. Lavin, et al, Right Versus Privilege, p. 297.

99. Ibid, pp.66-67; Nieves, Puerto Ricans, pp. 13-15.

100. See Frank Bonilla, "Cultural Pluralism and the University: The Case of Puerto Rican Studies," Revista del Instituto de Estudios Puertorriqueños del Brooklyn College 2 (otoño 1972), pp. 9-15. For an account of the student demands for Puerto Rican Studies programs in CUNY, specifically at City College and Lehman College see Federico Aquino-Bermúdez, "Growth and Development of Puerto Rican Studies Departments: A Case

Study of two Departments at the City University of New York," (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1975).

101. A product of Puerto Rican student and community struggle for access to higher education, the **Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños** has among its main functions the study of the Puerto Rican experience in higher education so as to provide the community with a deeper understanding of their reality in order to develop strategies to improve the situation.

102. In the Midwest, for example, the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, the University of Indiana at Bloomington and Gary, and the University of Michigan at Detroit acceded to Latino student demands for Chicano/Puerto Rican Studies.

103. CUNY, Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Faculty and Staff Relations, Affirmative Action at the City University of New York, Vol. II (October 1971), p. 23, and Affirmative Action Summary Data by College, Sex and Ethnicity, 1974-75 Academic Year Vol. I (Summer 1977), pp. 5-6.

104. For an analysis of the different forces that resulted in the fiscal crisis of major United States' urban centers, see Roger E. Alcaly and David Mermelstein, eds., The Fiscal Crisis of American Cities: Essays on the Political Economy of Urban America with Special Reference to New York (New York, 1977).

105. For a concise discussion of the crisis of the colonial developmental program see José J. Villamil, "Puerto Rico, 1948-1979: The Limits of Dependent Growth". In Jorge Heine, ed., Time for Decision: The United States and Puerto Rico (Maryland, 1980), pp. 95-113.

106. City University of New York, Data Book, 1975-1976, "Ethnic Composition of CUNY Undergraduate," p. 120; Data Book, 1982-1983, p. 49; Idem, "Ethnicity by College," Table 5, p. 1. (Addendum 28, March 1985).

107. Nieves, Puerto Ricans, pp. 37, 46, 61-62.

108. Ibid, pp. 45, 61.

109. For comparison purposes, tenure bearing faculty is defined here as full professors, associate professors and assistant professors. In the 1974-75 report the category "instructors" was subdivided into tenure and non-tenure. According to that report, 16 Puerto Rican instructors had tenure. In 1982-83, the category "instructor" was not disaggregated. However, the number of Puerto Rican instructors decreased sharply from 86 to 31. CUNY, Affirmative Action Office, Affirmative Action Summary by College, Sex and Ethnicity, 1974-75 (Summer 1977), pp. 4-7, 12-13, 19-20, 75-76, and Affirmative Action Summary, 1982-83 (September 1983), pp. 4-7, 12-13, 19-20, 75-76.

110. U.S. Congress, House, Hispanic Access to Higher Education: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Post Secondary Education of the Committee

on Education and Labor, 98th. Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 7, 73.

111. Ibid, p. 37.

112. Among the gravest problems the Middle States Association noted were: lack of adequate financial resources, inadequate library resources, absence of defined graduate programs, lack of support for basic scientific research, low salaries and the demoralization of the faculty body. Milton Pabón, Roberto Alejandro, and Fernando Picó, Las vallas rotas (Río Piedras, 1982), pp. 45-46.

113. The best analysis of the student strike of 1981 is in Pabón, et al, Las vallas rotas. For an extensive discussion of the socio-economic and political background in which the strike took place see Luis Nieves Falcón, et al, Huelga y sociedad (Río Piedras, 1982).

114. For a discussion of the relationship between higher education and youth unemployment in Puerto Rico see Ronald J. Duncan, "Federal Assistance Policy and Higher Education in Puerto Rico" METAS 2 (Spring 1981), pp. 20-25, and Paul Rene LaTortue, "The Employment Problem and the Growth of Higher Education in Puerto Rico" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1980).

115. U.S. Congress, House, Hispanic Access, pp. 12, 36, 56, 106.

116. Duncan, "Federal Assistance," pp. 25-28. See also U.S. Congress, House, Hispanic Access, pp. 107-109.

117. LaTortue, "Employment Problem," p. 170.

118. As José Méndez (Méndez Foundation) noted, unemployment affected the college age population the most. "Thus, if educational opportunity is curtailed, many current as well as prospective college students will swell the already inflated rolls of unemployment in the Island or emigrate to the United States in search for better opportunities. The social unrest associated with such a historical trend will be suffered both by Puerto Rico and by the United States." U.S. Congress, House, Hispanic Access to Higher Education: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Post Secondary Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, 97th Cong. 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C., 1983), p. 24.

119. For a general analysis of the effects of President Reagan's proposals on college students see College Board, "The President's FY 1986 Budget Proposals for Student Aid and Related Programs" (Washington, D.C, February 15, 1985). A concise analysis of the disruptive effects that such proposals would have on the Puerto Rican higher education system is found in Ismael Almodovar, "Prepared Statement", U.S. Congress, House, Hearings (98th Congress), pp. 15-32.

120. Ibid, pp. 57-58, 64-67, 95-96, 116-118.

121. Frank Bonilla and Ricardo Campos, "A Wealth of Poor: Puerto Ricans in the New Economic Order," Daedalus (Spring 1981): 164.

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